/254 cont./

203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

/255/ One of the principal means for these long-distance communications, however, was the Trocano, Twá-tõ, almost completely gone today, an instrument, moreover, without religious character and used only for social relations by the tuxáua.

It is a teleresonator consisting of a trunk of hard wood suspended by cipos to four stakes and hollowed by means of a narrow longitudinal cleft. Struck on the edge of the cleft with a wooden mallet, Twá-tõ pá-kõ, with a projection of rubber or of anta hide, it emits a deep sound, which, in the solitude of those forests and with the help of the winds, is heard many kilometers away (5).

5. Koch G. (Z. I. 171) tells that from Cucura-igarapé (one hour by canoe above S. José, river Tiquié) the Desana got in contact with the Tukano of Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, the Povoados) by means of the trocano.

Each tribe or maloca had its instrument and its conventional signals. With this instrument the tuxauas communicated the date and offered invitations for the caxiris. With the trocanos, moreover, they would give information about the retinues that were coming up the rivers (6).

6. Information by Plácido Rodrigues, descendant of the Baré. Cf. also "Notas sôbre os Trocanos /Notes about the Trocanos/," by Carlos Drummond, Boletim 58 of the Univ. de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I. 393) tells that among

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/footnote 6 cont./ the Witoto of Pirá-paraná (Colombia) the language of the Trocanos, made in pairs, that is, man and wife, according to the picturesque native expression, was quite well developed.

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With some musical instruments they manage to emit sounds that are similar to words. For example, with the instrument called Ñamá dõxpoá (deer head, cf. VII, 3 c (3) /see VII, 3 c (10)/), we seemed to hear the syllables -- "Pêru wáatya" (bring caxiri) ... pêru... pêru... pêru" (quickly, quickly, quickly).

[832]

The young men direct amorous invitations to the young women with the sounds of some fifes. We were given on the Uaupés (and for this reason we recorded it with the pronunciation of this river) the following invitation, which they express on the fife -- "Yõõ-mẽna váya" (go with me), -- "Yõõ-mẽna vágo-tá" (you just go with me), "afiunõ nĩgosa" (be good), "afiũnõ nĩhosa" (it is going to be good). To send out such invitations with the sound of the flutes is what is called in Tukano puxtĺ-weresã (literally: to complain by playing the flute).

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[123]

They likewise know how to emit certain characteristic and various cries, sometimes similar to the voice of animals and chirping of the birds, and they orient themselves, call one another, give information, etc., with these signals (7).

7. On a trip to the great maloca of the Tuyuka, on the upper Tiquié, frontier with Colombia, the machete that one of our traveling companions had loaned to the Indians disappeared. At the time for the canoe to leave, he asked about the machete and no one could give any information as to where it might be. Impatient, he complained that it was a theft, and this was wicked. After the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ canoe

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/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tukano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion.

[533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

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Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Cubeo

tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive sib cult.

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, ascended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was taboo but as a courtesy.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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182 an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery
837 of a young wife.

THE MEN'S SIDE

765 In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritu-
231 alization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that
182 are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal
152 theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

765 The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are
614 those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grand-
574 mother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

765 On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare
532 the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and
[184] are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of
[614] cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

765 As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs
535 in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles,
[533] the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

[202] The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks [535]
and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the
house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will [574]
announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their
masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line
along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the 765
others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the 534
trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grand- 574
mother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on
their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets
sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their
masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A
trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor 765
of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, 533
the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. 534
Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own
higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grand-
mother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a frame-
work to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night 765
is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the 535
"grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occa-
sionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the
plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they [202]
enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women
to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the door- [789]
way with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn
they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will
be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other
paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates 765
who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited 614
palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is
brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the
ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they repre-
sent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the
father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full
Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pend-
ant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations
of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy 765